

/179 cont./

*171 carried, but rather saved them for acknowledgment by his con-
 301 temporaries and attached them to his body. We find this all the
 more natural, since we know that with such parts, in his opinion,
 [789] the characteristics of the game animal were acquired. Thus he
 wore claws, teeth, and feathers as trophy and talisman. While
 *171 he could tie most of these things on a string, he was in difficulty
 301 with a feather which he wanted to keep as a memento of a good
 304 shot: he pierced his ear lobe and stuck it in there, where it was
 secure and did not get in his way. The ancestors of all our tribes
 hit upon this; some of them were soon not content with ear holes,
 but also pierced the nose and lips. For the idea of the trophy, at
 first applied only to the laborious attainment, was extended to a
 wearing not connected with much pain or labor. A new result,
 worthy of admiration, was produced, and a young man undoubtedly
 felt "better tailored," in the fullest sense of the expression, if
 he displayed his treasure in a hole in his nose, lip, or ears, than
 if he wore it around his neck on a string. Once the wearing of
 *171 the trophy became habitual, it was inevitable that attention was
 301 turned to its external qualities as well, the previously secondary
 • 822 characteristics of color and form. Even objects that had merely
 been used to keep the holes open and prevent them from healing
 shut became ornaments and decorations. More or less vaguely
 felt perceptions of pleasing color contrasts were associated with
 ideas about the difficult, the unusual, the power-endowed.

The artificial injury, however, became an end in itself
 *171 through the circumstance that it furnished a permanent distinguish-
 304 ing mark and thus shaped various forms of the custom. It was not
 619 only excellently suited for distinguishing brave and ruling persons
 within a tribe, who were usually also the most vain, but it often
 formed the consciously worn symbol of nationality from tribe to
 tribe. It provided the means for giving even children lasting
 [649] marks. The Indians have always passionately engaged in kid-
 napping among foreign tribes in order to rear warriors and women;
 hence children were marked so that they could be recognized, as
 the herd-owner stamps his livestock. When we were with the
 Bororó, an old woman swore by all that was holy that our Antonio,

/184 cont./

*171
301 With this the most essential constituents of the chain orna-
[128] ments have probably been enumerated; in the later chapter on
the plastic art of our Indians I shall come back to details, inso-
far as all kinds of figures were also carved and ground.

[75] I am unable to say to what extent useful and therapeutic
effects were attributed to individual objects. That the "orna-
ment" was often "talisman" is shown by the fact that, as men-
tioned, children and pregnant women were the most bedecked.
If the remains of a matchbox were also hung around, this, too,
did not originate from a sense of beauty. The grass beads of
the Bakairi greatly resembled fine fish-bones, but I obtained
such a chain only with the greatest difficulty; in the eyes of
their owners they were decidedly "more beautiful" than those
with fish beads, because they were rarer.

*171
301 Daubing and painting. Why do the Indians daub them-
selves with oil color, either with black, like those who are
less familiar with the orlean bush, or with red, as the others
prefer? To frighten the enemy by means of display and dis-
figurement? This is certainly a practical use, but only for this
particular instance.

● [822] Could the love of color explain everything? If so, we
are obliged to recognize the delight in black as a primary
sensation of pleasure. In that case we should have to note
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301 with amazement that a natural source has eluded our Indians,
824 a source used so profusely in Polynesia, for example, and one
that is abundantly available for this purpose even in the river-
forest area which is relatively poor in flowers -- neither men
nor women adorned themselves with flowers. I believe the
only question that Antonio asked me of his own initiative was
the following in Cuyabá: "Why do the women wear flowers
in their hair?" The idea that it is done in order to adorn
oneself with gay colors was worlds removed from his way of
thinking. No, the gay parrot feathers only later developed
into colored ornaments; first came the pleasure in the hunt
or in animal life and the boastfulness concerning the hunter's

/184 cont./

000 skill, and only then did sensuous pleasure come into its own.

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[126] I entered in my journal each instance of body painting and was able to observe that even today there are two types of body painting here. /185/ The one which occurs to us first, that of external adornment, was the more uncommon and had one characteristic that distinguished it rather definitely from the other. This characteristic was that a design, simple or elaborate, was part of the adornment. A distinction must be made between daubing and painting the body. In daubing the useful is the decisive factor; in design painting, the beautiful.

•[82] The love of color is present in both cases, but secondary. Even the effect of urucú red is overestimated by us. If it had been so esteemed generally, all tribes could have used it. A person who lives with the truly gaudy adornment of the parrots is supposed to regard himself as particularly beautiful if he daubs himself with soot or even brick-red! Let us pause in front of the magnificent feather ornaments of tropical South America in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde and confidently compare with these the most beautiful and the most colorful things that our modern technology, which has certainly accomplished no little, is able to conjure up -- nature can still stand up under the comparison, and surely its feather splendor surpasses the modest black-white-red which charcoal, loam, and the orlean bush provide for the Indian.

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822 The Indians never use white for body painting! I already hear the answer: "he finds white not becoming to him." There is probably something in this. He valued our white beads less than the red ones; he preferred the blue ones to both, for they contrasted best with his skin. One could retort, to be sure, that he made these distinctions merely at a glance and before he saw the beads on his body, but it may be that he liked red better than white and blue better than all the rest, not because he preferred the, to him, more unusual colors, but purely as a matter of taste. But this still does not explain why he avoided white altogether; one would only understand why he used it

/185 cont./

* 171 more sparingly and could not by any means conceive why he
302 did not use it merely to bring out the other colors better. He
● 822 wears feather caps, which look most charming, of pure white
with a few, small yellow-red feathers in between.

* 171 The chalky, fine-grained clay is not suitable for the
302 design-painting of the body. If it were mixed, like charcoal,
386 with the yellowish oil, it could likewise be applied in lines,
but the white color would be lost. Mixed with water, however,
the lines would be very impermanent and mostly fall off when
dry. On the masks, white furnishes only the background or ap-
pears in wide stripes on the most artless ones. On the other
hand, if the native used his pigment for body adornment pri-
marily for the sake of the color effect, nothing would prevent
him from beautifying himself with white also, by powdering
himself over large areas with the clay. Thus the thighs of the
string-twisting women are chalk-white; moreover, the fine,
flour-dust, with which the women who bake beijū are often
covered white, would be available to him. But neither the
white baker-woman nor the Indian daubed red or black over
large areas /186/ has dressed himself up this way in order to
adorn himself. This is everyday clothing, not Sunday attire.

* 171 The question thus is: of what use is the daubing? As is
302 well known, and as I know very well from my long experience
751 of going barefoot, the mud has a cooling effect; it is extremely
pleasant in the heat to keep the skin moist. In particular it
cools stung spots, and it protects the ones stung from the mos-
quitoes, whether it be red, yellow, black, or white. I cannot
believe that whenever a person waded through the mud of the
shore, he seemed particularly adorned because of it; it may
be different on other soil, where the earth colors are more un-
usual. In our territory, at any rate, the agreeableness for the
skin takes precedence over that for the eye. The Indian has re-
placed the mud with oil, but a finely powdered addition is said
to make it more consistent and sticky, and this addition is a

[822] pigment, soot and urucū red. Undoubtedly the Bakaĩf like
the red better, since they did not have to tend and cultivate
the plant if the soot were just as pretty, and within these limits
one adorns himself also by daubing himself.

/187 cont./

- *171 the Bakairi Luchu, in a pleasant idle hour, treat himself to a
 302 serpentine line with dots beside it on his thigh, and just as plainer
 751 people among us dress only modestly even on Sunday, so an
 Indian of more unassuming temperament is content to permit
 himself for the celebration of a joyful event merely a painting
 of the forehead and nose or of the calves, instead of a linear de-
 sign. By and large, however, I find it clearly evident that
 daubing is done for utilitarian purposes and one decorates himself
 with designs for beautification purposes, and I conclude from this
 that cosmetics were not adornment at first. And this is all the
 • [822] more to be maintained inasmuch as to this day only secondary
 value is put on the color of their coloring materials, since they
 scorn white altogether, make no particular distinction between
 red and black, and since they have disproportionately more
 [192] beautiful colors at their disposal in their feather ornaments. The
 development of color words, as we shall see, also speaks in favor
 of this view.

I need scarcely point out that among the purposes of
 daubing regarded as useful the medicinal ones were not lacking
 and encouraged the custom; I shall cite a specific and very
 common case presently in connection with the scarifier. When
 Moritona, the great medicine man of the Yaulapiti, smeared
 the remainder of our pea soup over a broad area of his chest,
 the motive of delight in color probably played only a minor part.

- *171 The designs were of different kinds. Simple finger
 302 strokes, bold stripes, for example, from eye to ear, or the
 beautifying of the same Moritona: a black stripe from the nose
 to the navel, stripes that followed the contours of the shoulder
 blades, dots on chest and arms, wavy lines along the thighs,
 dotted arcs across the chest, a zigzag down the back and legs,
 [619] and the like. In part there was involved in this a bold outlining
 or intersection of the anatomical contours, in part imitation
 animal skin-design, but everything was the choice of the individ-
 ual person and there were no tribal designs. The conspicuous
 painting of individual parts of the body, for instance, forehead
 and nose, may be regarded as a transition to the ordinary broader

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*171
411 Children's arrows are similar, but smaller, with wood and bone points or (those of the earliest youth) flexible, thin stalks split off from palm-leaf panicles.

The bow is usually held vertically. The arrow lies to the left of the bow. It is held between the index finger and the middle finger, which draw back the bowstring, while the fourth and fifth fingers also help to stretch the bowstring. The thumb is not used. This way of drawing the bow, corresponding to the Mediterranean draw of Edward S. Morse, is different from that of the Bororó. Devices to protect the finger against the strong friction of the bowstring are not used. The left hand, holding the bow, can also hold a second arrow in reserve.

The arrow is sighted at the target only for short distances; if the distance is great the bow is held up high, the arrow flies upward in a vertical direction toward the target and sinks down toward it. On the river, for example, if an otter playing in the distance is to be shot, an extremely fascinating sight, with the picturesque pose of the naked archer standing in the low canoe! /231/ In shooting fish the arrow point is frequently dipped into the water to test the degree of light refraction. No little practice is required for fish-shooting. The companion sitting in the rear rows slowly while the archer stands in front ready to shoot and sharply on the lookout. One of us does not see any more than the Indian would if he were to look into the microscope for the first time. A slight change of wave form already discloses the booty to him. With this he must remain as quiet as a mouse; the oar is soundlessly dipped. Many a shot, moreover, goes astray, and often two or three of the beautiful arrows drift sadly on the water until they are recovered. No wonder that our fishing rod seemed like a revelation to the Indians. Although they were not acquainted with the rod, they nevertheless knew about bait. But that floating freely. The archer tossed a scarlet berry into the river from the canoe; at the moment when a snout snapping at it from below tried to gulp it, the arrow whizzed from the bow. Anyone looking for a new sport might try it. The

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